





THE
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WITH
NOTES AND QUERIES

Extra Number—No. 4

COMPRISING

A "PLAIN NARRATIV" OF THE UNCOMMON
SUFFERINGS AND REMARKABLE DELIV-
ERANCE OF THOMAS BROWN, OF
CHARLESTOWN IN NEW ENGLAND.
(1757-1760) - - - - -

Thomas Brown

THE BURIAL OF GEORGE AUGUSTUS LORD
VISCOUNT HOWE, 1758 - *The Late Edward J. Owen, A. M.*

WILLIAM ABBATT

141 EAST 25TH STREET,

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VOL. I

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THE BURIAL
OF
GEORGE AUGUSTUS
LORD VISCOUNT HOWE

KILLED JULY 6, 1758

AT
TROUT BROOK, TICONDEROGA, N. Y.

A MONOGRAPH
BY
THE LATE EDWARD J. OWEN, A. M.
Superintendent of Schools, Ticonderoga, N. Y.

ALBANY, N. Y.
Printed 1893

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PREFACE TO THE ORIGINAL EDITION

THIS paper was originally read at the Columbian celebration of July 4, 1892, at the "old French lines" in Ticonderoga, when, on the motion of the late Mr. Joseph Cook, a copy was requested for publication. It was subsequently revised and enlarged and, on invitation, read before the Albany Institute in the city of Albany on January 3, 1893, when, on motion of Judge Van Alstyne, it was unanimously resolved, "That the thanks of the Institute be and are hereby given to Professor E. J. Owen for his able and interesting paper on the burial place of Lord Howe."

In accordance with the request of many friends who are interested in the subject matter of the paper, the writer has been induced to publish the same, trusting that the arguments thus presented may convince the reader that the remains of Lord Howe were in fact buried on the battle-field in the present village of Ticonderoga, and not at Albany.

He desires to express his obligations for valuable suggestions and personal favors to Mr. D. Turner, of Washington, D. C., and John C. Fenton, Esq., of Ticonderoga, N. Y.

THE BURIAL OF LORD VISCOUNT HOWE

I COME before you to present, as carefully as I am able, the claim of Ticonderoga to be the only resting place of the remains of Lord Howe.

In these busy days of modern activity, it may seem of little moment as to what took place a century or more ago in a wilderness on our northern frontier. But to the student of history the probability or improbability of traditions or legends relating to past events becomes a most interesting study, and especially so when the event pertains to our Colonial History—a history which the genius of Parkman has so ably illustrated that we seem to have a personal knowledge of those heroic days and of the men who lived therein.

I invite your considerate attention while we enter into this realm of the past and visit those scenes of the death and burial of Lord George Augustus Howe, remembering that he was the leading Englishman in America at that time—the grandson¹ of King George I.—the special favorite of William Pitt, Prime Minister of England—the idol of the army and beloved in England and America.

It is not an unusual circumstance, in searching the records of past history, to find that either the place of birth or of death, or even the final resting place of not a few great and distinguished men has been so clouded with grave doubts as to present no sufficient or satisfactory assurance of the real truth of the case. There are so many notable evidences of this, familiar to all students of history, that we shall not spend any time in relating the many instances thus afforded. It is our purpose to present a few reasons why the former traditions relative to the burial of Lord Howe

¹ There were three brothers Howe: William the soldier, Richard the sailor, and George Augustus, who was the eldest. They were the children of the Viscount Howe by an illegitimate daughter of George I. Prof. Owen is wrong in his term of "grandson" using it in the ordinary sense.

so rest upon vague, uncertain and indefinite testimony that the accurate student may well be pardoned if he treats them with unbelief.

It is true that while men of some repute as historians have accepted these traditions, others, of as great if not greater reputation as faithful narrators of historical facts, though minutely describing the soldier-life and death of Lord Howe nowhere refer to or accept the tradition that his remains were buried in Albany.

The burial of a man, however distinguished, became in the early colonial days of anxiety and peril, a matter of little moment, and any supposition or impression as to the exact locality would naturally pass into history without any very thorough or careful examination, and thus be accepted as a fact. And so it has happened, as it has in other instances, that historical writers have accepted a general tradition as to Lord Howe's burial, and without careful investigation have assumed its truth.

We do not enter upon a discussion of the credibility of this tradition in any spirit of self-assumption, for we well know the difficulty involved in attempting to antagonize a long cherished tradition, but rather with the hope that the real truth of the case may be made manifest beyond any reasonable doubt.

The tradition relative to the removal of the remains from the battle-field and their burial in Albany may be stated as follows:

After the death of Lord Howe, young Philip Schuyler, an officer in the colonial army, was directed to convey his remains back to Albany for sepulture. He did so, and they were buried in some place in Albany. The place is generally supposed to be St. Peter's Church, known then as the English church.

This statement is generally followed by the historians Lossing and Watson.

Assuming that the remains were thus conveyed to Albany and

buried, it would be reasonable to suppose that the grave of so distinguished a man would have been marked with a monument or some suitably inscribed tablet or stone. Not to have done so would imply great neglect and a seeming indifference to the memory of a man so dear to the American colonists.

And yet there is no pretence of the existence of any such mural tablet. In fact there was none; and as a natural result we have a variety of accounts touching the place of burial, the coffin and the remains.

It is interesting to note these differences of statement or opinion or fact, as they are the substance of the entire claim furnished in behalf of Albany as the place of sepulture, and we present the same as fully as we are able to do. They may be separately stated as follows:

First. The civic procession upon the reception of the remains.

Second. The burial and the various re-interments.

Third. The various coffins and their contents.

We will briefly dispose of the civic procession without particular comment. Undoubtedly if Howe's remains were removed to Albany they must have been interred with suitable ceremony. Lossing and Watson in their histories refer to such a procession, but give no authority for their statements. No proof exists of any such fact beyond these alleged historical statements. A letter written in Albany, July 15, 1758, and sent to a New York newspaper, relates his death, speaks of his many good qualities, but does not mention or even allude to any such alleged ceremonial procession. Such a letter, written within nine days of the death, must be considered as good contemporaneous history of what actually occurred in the city of Albany. The utter silence of all the letter writers of that period regarding any military or civic display at Albany is at least very significant, for if he were buried in Albany there was no reason for any secrecy, but if he was really buried on the

battle-field, as we shall endeavor to show, there was the utmost reason for profound secrecy. Such silence, therefore, grew out of utter ignorance of any such fact.

In regard to the burial and various re-interments we have the following conflicting statements:

Proctor says that the remains were first placed in the Schuyler vault; then at some unknown time placed under the chancel of St. Peter's Church, where they rested nearly forty years. When the church was demolished in 1802 they were removed to the Van Rensselaer vault; afterwards they were placed in the new Van Rensselaer vault in the Rural Cemetery where they now rest.

Watson says that they were at once buried in St. Peter's Church.

Munsell says that a tradition prevailed to a considerable extent that the remains were buried under St. Peter's Church, but that there seems to have been no authority for it whatever. He also mentions another tradition that they were buried under the old Dutch church, and the further report that the remains were afterwards removed to England.

Another writer (W. W. Crannell), in an elaborate article in the Albany *Evening Journal* under date of November 9, 1889, alleges that the body may have been placed temporarily in a vault prior to placing the same in St. Peter's Church.

There is a curious discrepancy in the various accounts regarding the coffins which enclosed the remains.

Proctor states that when first deposited they were in a double coffin of lead. Watson says that at the time of the exhumation in 1802 a double coffin was revealed. The outer one of white pine was nearly decayed, the other of heavy mahogany almost entire.

Referring to the same exhumation, the *Evening Journal* of March 30, 1859 says that there were persons then living who recollect that at the time of the exhumation in 1802 the coffin was covered with canvas and that saturated with tar: that this coffin was then enclosed in another and then deposited under St. Peter's Church.

At the exhumation in 1859 only one coffin is claimed to have been seen by any witness.

There is the same variety of testimony regarding the contents of the various coffins as related by the different witnesses.

Watson says that at the exhumation in 1802, when the lid of the coffin was removed, the remains appeared clothed in a rich silk damask cerement in which they were enshrouded on his interment. The teeth were bright and perfect, the hair stiffened by the dressing of the period, the queue entire, the ribbon and double brace apparently new and jet black, and all on exposure shrunk into dust.

In the *Evening Journal* of November 9, 1859, it is stated, on the authority of an eye witness present at the exhumation in 1859, that the single coffin contained, besides several bones, a large tuft of human hair about six inches long, which was tied with a black silk ribbon; that the coffin bore no inscription but was supposed to contain the remains of Lord Howe.

Lossing says that he was informed by Mrs. Cochrane that when the coffin was opened many years after the burial, the hair had grown to long flowing locks and was very beautiful.

The *Evening Journal* of March 30, 1859, states that: "This morning the remains of a coffin were discovered, and in it were found the bones of a large-sized person. That these were the remains of Lord Howe there can be little doubt. Two pieces of ribbon in a good state of preservation were found."

Mr. L. B. Proctor, of Albany, states in the *Evening Post*, (N. Y.), October 17, 1889, that when the remains were re-

moved to the Rural Cemetery they were then inspected, and with the bones were found relics of military dress, such as buttons, a gold buckle, and other military insignia.

An interesting item of alleged evidence is found in the treasurer's book of St. Peter's Church, as follows: "1758, Sept 5. To cash Rd for ground to lay the Body of Lord how & Pall —5. 6. 0." No burial register covering the year 1758 has been found.

It is believed that the foregoing statements represent all the evidence that can be found to substantiate the alleged fact that the remains of Lord Howe were buried in Albany.

Upon a careful consideration of the same, it will be found that the allegation as to the conveyance of the remains from the battle-field, and the civic and military funeral at Albany, rests upon the sole authority of a letter of Mrs. Cochrane written forty-four years after the event. She was the daughter of Philip Schuyler, born in the year 1781. We have no information whatever as to whence she derived her knowledge, so that it may be determined how far her statement is worthy of credit as an historical fact. It therefore stands alone, unsupported by any corroborative testimony whatever. Indeed there is every presumption against its accuracy.

Such a removal and burial is not mentioned in any military or civil despatch, newspaper or journal, diary or letter of the time, published or printed in England or the colonies. The official documents or archives of the city of Albany are equally silent. The despatches of General Abercromby do not refer to it, and the letters of his brother officers, written from the head of Lake George under dates of July 9, 10, 12, 13, 1758, though describing the death and their sorrow, are also silent as to the final disposition of the remains; and yet the very same letters minutely describe the conveyance of the wounded Major Duncan Campbell to Fort Edward, their hopes for his recovery, his death and burial, and even the very location of his grave. How does it happen that not a word

is written regarding the disposition of the dead general? Surely if the remains were indeed taken to Albany, his comrades would have gladly attested to the fact. If they so tenderly refer to the sepulture of the dead major how much more would they have been likely to give the same facts regarding their lamented general, the acknowledged idol of the whole army!

It may be asked why should there be such silence regarding his final resting place? The answer is evident. There would have been no silence if his remains had been taken to Albany; but if his remains had been hastily buried on or near the battle-field, as these officers well knew, there was every reason for complete silence, lest by careless or injudicious word or speech, intelligence might be conveyed to the enemy. History tells us that the French commander paid sixty livres for an English scalp. Under such encouragement, so atrocious were the acts of the Indians that they even dug up the remains of the brother of Major Rogers, in order that they might possess his scalp. Hence the need of absolute secrecy in the event of the burial of a private or officer on the battle-field.

The partisan Rogers has left an elaborate journal of the war, in which he minutely gives the particulars of Abercrombie's campaign and the death of Howe; but he is also silent as to the disposition of the body.

The London files of the *Gazette* and the *Daily Advertiser* of those days contain a number of letters, dated at Albany and sent to officials and friends in New York, Boston and Philadelphia, describing Abercromby's defeat, the death of Howe, and the return of the army, but do not mention the arrival of the remains and the military display at Albany.

Neither Parkman or Bancroft, though referring to the monument in Westminster Abbey, allude to any disposition of the remains.

As the tradition owes its origin to a member of the Schuyler family, it may be interesting to consider a few facts authenticated

by history relative to its connection with Lord Howe. Mrs. Schuyler, or "Aunt Schuyler," as she was commonly called, lived at the Flats, now Watervliet. She was the mother of Philip Schuyler. In her memoirs it is related that Lord Howe so won her heart that she loved him like a son, and though not given to such effusion, embraced him with tears when he left her to lead his division to the lake. His last night prior to his departure was passed under her hospitable roof.

It is related in the same memoirs that two or three days after the battle a horseman was seen riding furiously down the road from the north, bare-headed and in great haste. Pedrom (Peter) Schuyler, apprehensive of bad news, ran out to meet him. Without checking his horse the rider cried out to him that Lord Howe was killed, and the British army defeated. Mrs. Schuyler sank under the stroke and broke out into bitter lamentations.

As the battle occurred on the 8th of July and the army reached the head of Lake George on the night of the ninth, this messenger must have started from Fort William Henry for Albany on the morning of the tenth, so that it was probably the twelfth or thirteenth when he reached the home of Mrs. Schuyler—or five or six days after the death of Lord Howe.

It is evident, therefore, that as late as July 12 or 13 Mrs. Schuyler first learned of the death. At least five or six days after the event of the death no funeral *cortège* had reached Albany. But the tradition states that the remains were started on the seventh. If so, they should have reached Albany before the messenger, or, if delayed by bad roads, have been passed by him on the way; notice of which, if it had happened, he would surely have given. But the messenger is also silent as to any such funeral *cortège*. The family history of the Schuylers is also silent. Is it reasonable to suppose that such an event, the arrival of the remains, the funeral and burial—if any such there were—would have been passed over in silence, when the family were so interested in the man himself?

In that delightful home of the past, that noble-hearted lady,

whose affection for Howe was almost that of a mother, would have sacredly received the remains for the last funeral ceremonies.

Lossing says that General Schuyler did not leave any autobiography in the form of a diary or narrative of his career; of his early life we have little knowledge except in the form of family traditions.

If the tradition that he conveyed the remains of Lord Howe was true, an honor so great would surely have been referred to in the memoirs of his mother. But it is also a matter of history that Philip Schuyler did not go on with the army in its advance to Ticonderoga, but remained at Fort William Henry as commissary in charge of the army stores and provisions, and naturally knew nothing of the battle until the return of the defeated army on the ninth.

It may be also stated that it was the custom in all cases where it was possible, to remove the remains of England's distinguished sons, who had fallen in battle, from foreign lands to their native country. This was done a year later in the case of General Wolfe, who fell at Quebec. There are many other instances. It is only reasonable to believe that the same would have been done in the case of Lord Howe if there had been a reasonable presumption that his remains had been deposited in Albany.

There is a tradition in the Howe family, alluded to in the following extract of a letter from the present head of that house: He says "it is clearly proved that the idea of removing the remains for the purpose of burying the same in Westminster Abbey was given up, and this tends to show that there must have been some difficulty in finding where the remains were laid."

This tradition, which is as worthy of credit as any statement of Mrs. Cochrane, is to the effect that Sir William Howe, a brother and a colonel in a British regiment in the battle of Quebec, after peace was declared, returned to New York by way of Ticonderoga and Albany, with the object of endeavoring to find the remains of his brother for removal to England, and that he failed in his efforts.

It is only natural to suppose that the family and friends must have made some effort in that direction, and not difficult to believe, that in such a wilderness it would be no easy task to locate the grave.

In view of these facts it may be safely asserted that there is no authentic record, no statement, official or otherwise, written or printed at that time, which can be produced to prove the truth of the tradition that the remains were taken to Albany.

We further assert that the statements, as to the alleged final resting place of the supposed remains in the city of Albany, are so confused and contradictory as to convey absolute doubt, as to the degree of reliability to be placed upon such evidence.

The first point we have just discussed being well taken, it follows of necessity that a striking difference would be found in the accounts as to the locality of the place of burial. As long as there is no contemporaneous history, reliable in itself, there would naturally be many and various accounts as to the place of sepulture. And so we find the facts to be. No accounts agree; all differ. Ingenious and ably conceived theories attempt to solve the problem, but it is, to say the least, unfortunate that no inscription or other mark of identification has been shown which would of necessity be to a certain extent conclusive as to the fact. It is true that Elkanah Watson claims that the identity of the grave in the old English church was established by a coat of arms. But he stands alone. It is not referred to by any other witness. In a matter of so great importance it is very strange that the same or other marks of identification should not have been found in subsequent graves.

The various descriptions of the coffins, as well as their contents, are at variance and equally unsatisfactory.

This, in itself, seems apparently unimportant, but when considered in connection with so many other discrepancies has its own particular weight.

Each account differs as to the material of which the various

coffins were constructed. There is no agreement whatever, and this seems to be one of the many strange features of the case. The witnesses have either drawn upon their imagination or they have not seen the same coffin. This is the only legitimate conclusion.

Watson says that in 1802, at that exhumation "all on exposure shrunk to dust, which was conveyed by vulgar hands to the common charnel house and mingled with the promiscuous dead." If this was true in 1802, how did it happen that in 1859 so many undecayed relics purporting to be the veritable remains were found? If Watson be correct, what shall we say of the statements of the other witnesses?

Perhaps the argument might be briefly stated thus: Tradition says the remains of Lord Howe were buried in St. Peter's Church. An unmarked coffin was found in St. Peter's Church containing a few relics. Therefore, in the absence of any other claimant, this coffin contained the remains of Lord Howe.

Watson further says that at the exhumation of 1802, the hair was found stiffened by the dressing of the period, the queue and the ribbon apparently entire.

Other persons also, without observing quite as much as Mr. E. Watson, saw at the same time the hair in a good state of preservation, dressed in the fashion of the day (*Albany Evening Journal*, March 30, 1859). Mr. Crannell, in 1859, saw the hair and the ribbon that held the queue.

Others saw only the ribbon. Others again saw a tuft of hair about six inches long which was tied with a black ribbon stained but undecayed.

But Mrs. Cochrane has a wonderful account and surpasses all other witnesses. She says the hair had grown to long flowing locks, and was very beautiful.

We only quote these statements as to queues and flowing locks for the purpose of saying that according to the testimony of

Mrs. Grant's *Memoirs*, Howe's hair was cropped *close*, and he ordered every one else to do the same.

The entry in the treasurer's book of St. Peter's church does not, of itself, establish the fact of the burial there.

In view of the uncertain and conflicting testimony as to the disposition of the remains claimed to have been taken to Albany, this entry might merely relate to the fact that there had been a purchase of some ground in anticipation of the reception of the remains. Under no circumstances would the mere purchase of a burial lot for the dead of itself prove the fact of the interment of the dead in the lot, unless corroborated by other evidence. Besides, it is a curious fact that the entry is in the nature of a debit entry. The entry is in September, two months after the death of Lord Howe. May we not as well infer that the entry has reference to money refunded by the church after it was found impossible to bring the remains to Albany?

Here again a most important link in the chain of evidence is wanting. The burial register, so unfortunately lost, would have furnished positive proof.

Thus it must be apparent to any unprejudiced mind, after a careful consideration of all the evidence presented, that the claim in behalf of Albany, as the burial place of the remains of Lord Howe, is not founded upon fact but rests solely upon conjecture and supposition. Whatever evidence has been presented rests upon traditions confused in the object and place; traditions not found in contemporaneous history and without any tangible foundation, documentary or otherwise; traditions which no accurate historian would accept after a careful and painstaking investigation. In fact, the leading historians of this colonial period have not accepted these traditions and thus given them the seal of their authority.

The whole argument may be briefly summarized as follows:

Different men have seen different coffins, and different men have seen the coffins deposited in different places. But there is

not a scintilla of evidence that any one of these coffins contained the remains of Lord Howe.

In the further progress of this paper, it may be well to consider a few facts relative to those early colonial days and to briefly describe the localities of Abercromby's campaign so far as they may be connected with the subject matter of this discussion.

For five years succeeding the year 1755 Albany was the principal base of military operations on this continent.

Between Albany and Lake George was the great carrying place on the Hudson where General Lyman had begun a fortification, which his men called Fort Lyman, but which was afterwards named Fort Edward. Two Indian trails led from this place to the waters of Lake Champlain, one by way of Lake George and the other by Wood Creek. In 1755 the Lake George trail was opened into a road; over which, by reason of trees, stumps, roots, and swamps, carriage or travel was necessarily slow.

The main route from Albany was from Half Moon (the present town of Waterford) along the banks of the Hudson to Stillwater; thence by water to Saratoga; thence by road to the upper falls; thence by boat to Fort Edward, and thence across the country by the new road to Fort William Henry at Lake George.*

The country around and on either side of this route was a dense wilderness or forest, affording opportunities for many strong bands of Canadians and Indians to threaten serious mischief and cut off small parties.

Ticonderoga, the objective point of Abercromby's campaign of 1758, was a high rocky promontory at the junction of the outlet of Lake George with Lake Champlain. The French fort was named "Carillon." The distance from the fort to the lower falls on the outlet was scarcely two miles. Here was a saw-mill built by the French. The only road or path was called the "carrying place," and this extended from Lake George to a point near the

* Parkman's *Montcalm and Wolfe*, vol. i. p. 387.

saw-mill. It is shown on a map in Parkman's *Montcalm and Wolfe*, vol. II., page 94. "Mountain and valley lay wrapped in primeval woods:" a forest exceedingly dense and heavy, obstructed with undergrowth and fallen trees in every stage of decay. In such a scene one hundred and thirty-four years ago Howe fell and

"From the giant tangled dark woods
In the Trout brook at the ambush,
Wet with mists of roaring cascades,
Floateth up his strong white spirit."

* * * * *

In the abbey of Westminster,
Wrote his name young Massachusetts;
Carved the word Ticonderoga
In the proud and pallid marble."*

It is authentic history that on the evening of the 4th of July, 1758, the British and Colonial army, under the command of General Abercromby, was lying at the head of Lake George preparatory to an attack upon Fort Carillon, then commanded by Montcalm; that they embarked in the morning of the 5th on the waters of that beautiful lake—a superb spectacle of the pomp and panoply of war—that at five in the afternoon they reached Sabbath Day Point, where they waited until eleven at night; that at day-break of the 6th they entered the second narrows near Rogers' Rock and at noon the whole army landed near the present steamboat landing at Baldwin. Rogers, the ranger, was ordered forward with his men to reconnoitre, while the main army was formed for the march. Rogers reached what was known as the rising ground and there remained, a fourth of a mile from the saw-mill. This rising ground is the slope of the hill where the present Academy and Union school is located, and is also noted on the map before referred to. In the meantime Lord Howe, with Major Putnam and two hundred Rangers, marched at the head but at some distance in advance of the principal column of the army.

Suddenly they encountered a company of the French, not a

* Joseph Cook.

part of the main army, but a small party who had been watching the approach of the British and, seeking their own lines, had lost their way. Shots were exchanged. A hot skirmish ensued and Lord Howe, shot through the breast, dropped dead.

The place was near Trout Brook, about seventy-five rods from where Rogers was stationed; so near that as soon as Rogers heard the firing he turned and attacked the same party of French, who were soon put to flight.

“The British army was needlessly kept under arms all night in the forest, and in the morning was ordered back to the landing whence it came.”

Such are the facts related by authentic history.

It is our purpose to show that the remains of Lord Howe were buried near the place where he fell, and that such burial was a matter of necessity.

The death occurred in the heated month of July. The army was in fighting trim, unencumbered with any superfluous baggage. Hence there were no sufficient appliances for the proper embalming or preservation of the dead. Without such means it is unreasonable to suppose that the body could have been properly carried over a long and difficult route, necessarily occupying several days, with frequent changes of land and water travel.

Besides, such removal was not practicable, in view of the danger attending the same.

Rogers, who as a participant in these very scenes is of the highest authority, says in his *Journal* that at once upon the repulse of the army on the 8th of July, he sent out five scouting parties on both sides of the lake (George), and went with one himself. The scout extended to Fort Edward. On the 8th he found a party of French and Indians, one thousand in number, on the east side of the lake. On the 17th a British regiment was attacked half way between the head of the lake and Fort Edward.

It is a matter of history that the wilderness between the lake and Fort Edward was continually traversed by bands of Indians and French in search of plunder and scalps, down to a period as late as the final evacuation of Ticonderoga by the French in Amherst's campaign. It would therefore have been manifestly hazardous to have attempted to convey the remains to Albany, requiring at least the services of a stronger detachment for a guard than could well have been spared at the time.

Watson's statement of the departure of a single barge with its naturally small company seems well nigh absurd when we consider the character and condition of the roads, the necessity of slow travel, as a funeral *cortège*, and the innumerable dangers of the journey. Such an attempt would have provoked speedy capture by a daring and watchful enemy.

It may be further stated that the exigencies of the time as well as military custom did not warrant any such removal.

When Howe fell, the army were in a peculiar condition of doubt and uncertainty. They were kept under arms in the dense forest the whole night of the 6th. Rogers held his place on the rising ground. It was evidently a general expectation that they might be attacked by the French at any time. General languor and consternation affected the courage and spirit of everybody. There was no order or discipline. All thought was necessarily turned towards their present condition. All that could have been done for the lamented dead was done. The extreme probability of a contest at any minute, the character of the weather of a hot summer month and the doubtful issue of impending events, all constrained a speedy burial. About seventy-five rods from the place where Howe fell was the oak knoll or rising ground where Rogers and his Rangers were placed. This was a suitable place for the burial, as it was near the ancient carrying place and about twenty rods east of the old military road. Such a place as this in so dense a forest might the easier be identified at any future time.

We can well imagine that sorrowful scene—perhaps in the

early evening hours of the 6th—the open grave, the manly forms of the Rangers, Putnam, Stark, Rogers and Peterson, the unfortunate Abercromby, the groups of soldiers, Campbell of Inverawe, “silent and gloomy, for his soul was dark with foreshadowings of death.” A few short words are said; the coffin is placed in the grave; a stone hastily lettered by Peterson, one of the Rangers, is put at the head of the coffin to identify the remains; the ground is carefully replaced so that hostile Indians may not wantonly disturb the dead, and the sorrowing group of soldier friends separate for their posts of duty during that long trying night, leaving the dead hero in his last restful sleep.

So Braddock was buried nearly four years before near the Great Meadows in the road, and men, horses and wagons passed over his grave, effacing every sign of it lest the Indians should find and mutilate the body.

So Colonel Williams was buried after the battle of Lake George, some twenty rods from where he fell, and the place was not discovered until long years thereafter. And so Howe was buried secretly to prevent Indian atrocities. The great battle of the 8th was fought, and no British soldier saw the locality until the following year. In the fluctuating events of the war the grave was left undisturbed. There is a tradition, before referred to in the present Earl Howe's letter, that some attempt was made to locate the place for the purpose of removal to England. Subsequently followed the stirring events of the war of the Revolution and the place had been forgotten.

THE GRAVE RECENTLY FOUND IN TICONDEROGA WAS BEYOND ANY REASONABLE DOUBT THE GRAVE OF LORD HOWE.

The circumstances of the discovery are as follows:

On the 3d of October, 1889, a workman (Peter Duchane)* while engaged with others in digging a trench close by the doorway fence of Mr. E. M. Gifford, four feet or more under ground, came upon a piece of decayed board; still digging he lifted out

* French, *Duchesne*.

a large stone close against the board, then a human skull, then other bones of a human skeleton but so old and decayed that in exhuming them from the stiff clay they were considerably broken. The teeth were those of a young man, and round and white as to the crowns. The top of the coffin had fallen in. The sides, head and bottom were there, but so rotten that it fell to pieces with a slight pressure. The wood was thought to be pine reduced to about half an inch in thickness.

The locality is the same rising ground we have before mentioned. The ground has never before been disturbed to any depth, within the memory of the oldest inhabitant. The highway, on the side of which the remains were found, has been where it now runs for more than ninety years. No burial ground was ever within a mile of the spot and there is no tradition or knowledge of any burial there.

Interest was at once aroused. The stone was examined. It was a hard limestone about ten inches long by six or seven inches wide, flat on one side and oval on the other, weighing twenty or twenty-five pounds. It was encrusted with clay. In consequence of a letter or character being partly visible it was carefully washed, and to the surprise of everybody an inscription in capital letters was found cut in the hard surface in four parallel lines across the stone, the letters being two-thirds of an inch high and wide, thus:

MEM OF L^O HOWE KILLED TROUT BROOK.

The letters were apparently pricked with a bayonet or other sharp pointed instrument. It was found evidently standing upright against the head of the coffin. A fragment of a brass button; also several nails—old fashioned hand-made, such as are found in the old fort—were found, but nothing more.

The locality is identified with the eventful scenes of those disastrous days of 1758. It was in fact the only ground continuously held by the English during the 6th and 7th of July. It was a

part of the "rising ground" already mentioned. All testimony of the past and present shows that the ground has been undisturbed except by the lowering or grading of the surface some two feet, making the original depth of the grave nearly six feet.

It was discovered by the merest accident, by a man who can neither read nor write, and who had never heard of Lord Howe. There are no charges of fraud or deceit. The stone was at no time in the possession of any person who could or would have tampered with it. It was simply impossible for Duchane, the finder, to have attempted any fraud, and the high character of those who were present and aided in clearing the stone is a sufficient answer to any such suggestion.

The "o" of the "Lo" is smaller than the other letters, corresponding to the then prevalent practice in all papers and documents of designating the title of Lord by that abbreviation. The words "killed Trout Brook" are very significant, as being a fair and the only description at that time which could be given of the place where Howe was shot. The name Trout Brook is found on all the old military maps and charts of the vicinity.

Under the circumstances of the case it seems, beyond all possible doubt, that this grave so unexpectedly discovered was the last resting place of the gallant hero. The lettered stone is a relic that bears on its face the seal of truth. It is a silent witness to the establishment beyond a question of the identity of the remains. Its presence in that grave can be accounted for on no other hypothesis. It presents affirmative testimony not to be gainsaid.

But the proof so furnished is further most clearly substantiated by a tradition handed down in the Peterson family, now living in Ticonderoga.

In Rogers' muster roll is found the name of J. Peterson, a Ranger. He was a resident of Claremont, N. H., at the time of the old French War. Men are now (1893) living who remember "old Peterson," so called because he reached the patriarchal age

of at least one hundred and seven years, and because of his conversations regarding old Ti and the old war.

He had two sons, Ephraim and Amasa, both of whom eventually settled in Ticonderoga and died at an advanced age.

Joseph Peterson, who is a grandson of Ephraim, in a sworn affidavit, states that while Ephraim and Amasa were living in his father's family, he has often heard them talk of their father's services in the old French War; that for thirty years he was an Indian fighter, scout and minute man; that he was enrolled in Captain Rogers' company of Rangers; that an older brother, a provincial, was killed in the assault of the 8th on Fort Ti. That he, the father, frequently related that he was not far from Lord Howe when the latter was killed; that he was killed on the east side of the outlet of Lake George about opposite the mouth of Trout Brook; that he was present at Lord Howe's burial, and being a stone cutter by trade, he was ordered to mark a stone to be put in the grave; that the stone was lettered by him and he saw it put in the grave to identify it afterwards; that Lord Howe was buried on the highest ground right opposite the mouth of Trout Brook, and east of the outlet of Lake George.

The Peterson family have been known in Ticonderoga for three generations as very intelligent and especially upright and truthful people, and any statement made by them is deserving of the highest respect.

The statement thus related, is the only voice out of the past which gives even a hint or a suggestion as to what happened on the battle-field after the death of Lord Howe. It is worthy of credence as being connected with a family history, handed down and retained with an honorable pride by those whose ancestors took part in the stirring events of colonial times. Many an old veteran's story has gone into and become a part of our own war chronicles, all the more interesting as minute details are thereby furnished which documentary history fails to record.

It was natural to suppose that it would be necessary in the

future to remove the remains to England, and hence every possible measure to identify the grave.

If any attempt was ever made to find the place, and the traditions of the Howe family show that there was such an effort, it was fruitless. It could not well be otherwise. All external marks of burial being carefully effaced for precautionary reasons, it would naturally be difficult to locate the place in the midst of a dense forest even with the aid of any of the original participants.

A distinguished writer of Scotland, Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, born in 1789, in his famous account of the Vision of Campbell, of Inverawe, in which he minutely describes the movements of the army, speaking of the burial of Lord Howe, uses these significant words:

“That he had so acquired the esteem and affection of the soldiers that they assembled in groups around the *hurried* grave to which his venerated remains were consigned and wept over it in deep and silent grief . . . and then returned to the landing place, which they reached early in the morning.”

Thus perished, in the early manhood of an illustrious career, the one man around whose name cluster the affectionate regards of the grateful colonists, so beloved by his associates that even Stark, of Revolutionary fame, was wont to say that had not death separated them he might have become a Tory and fought under British colors. “The noblest Englishman that has appeared in my time, and the best soldier in the British Army” was the testimony of the gallant Wolfe; “a character of ancient times; a complete model of military virtue” was the appreciative evidence of Pitt.

In memory of his virtues, for his services had not reached their full fruition, he received an honor from one of the leading colonies granted to no other leader in that war, not even to the hero of Quebec. The province of Massachusetts Bay, by order of the Great and General Court bearing date February 1, 1759, thus resolved:

“Bearing testimony to the sense which the province had of the services and military virtues of the late Lord Viscount Howe, who fell in the last campaign, fighting in the cause of the colonies, and also to express the affection which their officers and soldiers bore to his command:

Ordered that the sum of 250 pounds be paid out of the publick treasury to the order of the present Lord Viscount Howe, for the erection of a monument to his Lordship’s memory, to be built in such manner and situated in such place as the present Lord Viscount Howe shall choose and that His Excellency, the Governor, be desired to acquaint his Lordship therewith in such manner that the testimony be engraved on such monument.”

And yet in view of all these facts regarding the greatness of the man; his honorable reputation, the love of his friends and comrades; his illustrious ancestry and the favor of the great men of the nation, we are required to believe that while Westminster Abbey was deemed honored in containing his monument, his remains were at the same time lying unhonored and unmarked under some church or in some vault in Albany,

“and none so poor to do him reverence.”

The supposition is repugnant to the mind of every reasonable person. The filial duty of the two brothers, who were but a short time afterwards in America, the loving tenderness of the colonies, would gladly have conveyed the remains to his ancestral home if they had rested where they could have been found.

But the grave on the oak knoll, a strange resting place for England’s hero, failed to disclose its secret until one hundred and thirty years thereafter, and then the chance blow of a workman’s pick told the long forgotten story.

It was a sad death; a young hero in the fond anticipation of coming glory cut off within sight of his crown. It was a sad and lonely grave amid the dense shades of a vast wilderness, far away from kindred and home; but it is all the more sad to know that in

view of the so-called traditional claims presented by Albany newspaper writers and imaginative historians, the remains cannot even now have suitable burial amid the scenes of his old home.

If this paper may be the means of directing the attention of this honorable Institute to a more complete investigation of the alleged Albany traditions, it will have accomplished its purpose, for they will be found to be without foundation and of no historical value.

E. J. OWEN.



THE DEATH OF LORD HOWE

A POEM PUBLISHED IN THE SCOTS MAGAZINE, OCTOBER, 1758

BRITANNIA mourns her youthful hero slain,
And sorrows flow thro' all her martial train;
The fair their tears, the brave their sighs bestow,
And sad America bewails for HOWE,
Albion, with secret pride her son beheld,
Form'd for the Senate or the hostile field;
Youthful in action but in prudence old,
In counsel steady and in danger bold;
The soldier brave, with patriot soul complete,
Rever'd by all, "the virtuous, good and great."

Voluptuous ease his manly breast abhorr'd,
When kindred nations British aid implored,
Without command to fields of death he rov'd,
And fell a victim to the cause he lov'd.

Oft has America extolled his care
To form the legions for the dangerous war;
How brother-like he bore with gen'rous heart
The soldier's duty with the leader's part;
Oft has beheld him with belov'd delight
Inure his vet'rans to the ambush fight.
By great example he their breasts inspir'd
To brave all danger horrid war requir'd.
Thus wisely trained, the adventurous van he led,
And fell the first among the honor'd dead.
So dy'd the hero, as he lived approv'd
By all lamented as by all belov'd.

But cease your sorrows, Britons weep no more,
Since grief cannot your fav'rite chief restore,
Then from your thoughts the fatal truth convey;
Behold his brothers honor's call obey,
Proud to avenge a slaughter'd brother's cause,
Fond to deserve their country's best applause.
Great is our loss, so dreadful be their rage,
As ruin'd Gallia only can assuage.

'Tis done! Brave *Richard* to the fight returns,
The Gauls affrighted fly, their navy burns.
William again shall scour the hostile plain,
And foes shall fly his youthful ire in vain.
Thomas enraged shall draw the avenging steel,
Till Gallia's sons their triple fury feel.
That these survive, imperious Lewis know
Who fear the terrors with the name of Howe.

Written at Nottingham (the home of Lord Howe) October 23, 1758.

VARIOUS ACCOUNTS OF THE ALLEGED BURIAL IN ALBANY

LOSSING in his "History of General Philip Schuyler," after referring to the advance of the British, says: "In this manner they had proceeded about two miles and were crossing a brook (Trout Brook) within the sound of the rushing waters of Ticonderoga, when the right centre, commanded by Lord Howe in person, came suddenly upon a French party of about three hundred men, who had lost their way and had been wandering in the forest for twelve hours. . . . At the first fire Lord Howe was struck by a musket ball and expired immediately. . . . On the 7th, another boat had passed over the lake upon a different errand. It contained the body of the young Lord Howe. . . . It was carried on a rude bier to Fort Edward and thence to Albany in a batteau. Major Schuyler caused it to be entombed in his *family vault*; and there it lay many years, when the remains were placed in a *leaden* coffin and deposited under the chancel of St. Peter's Church in that city. They rest there still. We have observed that Lord Howe, as an example to his soldiers had cut his fine and abundant hair very short. When his remains were taken from Schuyler's vault for re-entombment, his hair had grown to *long flowing locks and was very beautiful.*"

Macauley's *History of New York* claims that Howe was shot by an Indian, but has not a word to say of the burial.

Weise's *History of Albany* says "by some it is said that the corpse was interred in a vault of the English church; by others in one of the Reformed Protestant Dutch churches."

Watson in his *History of Essex County* says:

"The body was conveyed to Albany and buried in St. Peter's Episcopal Church, which stood in the middle of State Street. His obsequies were performed with every pomp of

military display and all the solemnities of religious rites. An heraldic insignia marked the location of the grave. Forty-four years elapsed, and in the progress of improvement that edifice was demolished, and the grave of Howe exposed. A *double coffin* was revealed. The outer one, which was made of *white pine*, was nearly decayed; but the other, formed of *heavy mahogany*, was almost entire. In a few spots it was wasted and the pressure of the earth had forced some soil into the interior. When the lid was removed, the remains appeared clothed in a *rich silk damask cerement*, in which they were enshrouded on his interment. The teeth were bright and perfect, *the hair stiffened by the dressing of the period*, the queue entire, the ribbon and double brace apparently new and jet black. *All on exposure shrunk into dust, and the relics of the high bred and gallant peer were conveyed by vulgar hands to the common charnel house and mingled with the promiscuous dead.*"

The author adds by way of a foot-note that he was indebted in part "to a published letter of Mrs. Cochrane for the fact of the interment of Howe in St. Peter's and to the manuscript of Elkanah Watson for the circumstances of his exhumation."

Munsell, in his *Collections on the History of Albany*, vol. I., page 390, says:

"A tradition prevailed to a considerable extent that the remains of the Lord Howe who was killed in Abercromby's campaign in 1758 were buried under St. Peter's Church recently demolished (1859). *There seems to have been no authority for it whatever.* There is another tradition that he was buried under the *old Dutch church* and his remains afterwards removed to England."

In the same volume, page 446, he further says:

"It is stated in one of the city papers that one of the bodies found under St. Peter's Church is supposed to have

been that of Lord Howe, from the fact that the deceased wore *long hair*. Colonel David Humphreys in his *Life of General Putnam* states, and on the authority of the latter, that Lord Howe cut off his own hair and required the soldiers of his regiment to do the same."

In the Albany *Evening Journal* of March 30, 1859, we find the following statement:

"This morning the remains of a coffin were discovered, and in it were found the bones of a large-sized person. That these were the remains of Lord Howe *there can be but little doubt*. Two pieces of ribbon in a good state of preservation were found among the bones, which are supposed to have bound his hair together. There are persons now living in this city who distinctly recollect the fact of their removal from beneath the English church, as it was then called, to the grounds of the present St. Peter's. It is alleged by them that the coffin was covered with *canvas* and that *saturated with tar*; that it was opened and exhibited the hair in a good state of preservation dressed in the fashion of the day. The coffin was *enclosed in another* and then deposited under St. Peter's Church."

In a letter to the New York *Evening Post* under date of October 17, 1889, Mr. L. B. Proctor, described as the "State Historian," although we have no knowledge of any such office at that time, is quoted as authority for the following statements:

1. That the body was first placed in the Schuyler vault.
2. Then under the chancel of St. Peter's Church.
3. Then in the Van Rensselaer vault.
4. Finally in the new Van Rensselaer vault in the Rural Cemetery, "where they now rest."

He is also quoted as saying that "when the remains were removed from the old Van Rensselaer vault to the new one in the

Rural Cemetery, they were then inspected and with the bones were relics of military dress, such as buttons, a gold buckle that probably encircled the sword belt in which his lordship was buried, and other military insignia."

In London *Notes and Queries* of August, 1859, the following extract is taken from the *Albany Argus*;

"We believe it is a tradition rather than a matter of record that the remains of a British nobleman which were buried under the chancel of the old English church when it stood in the middle of State Street were taken up and re-interred under the present church (1859) when it was built in 1804. The tradition moreover asserts that his name was Lord Howe. . . . There is no monument, mural tablet, gravestone or even a pavement inscription to mark the spot or attest the fact."

The *Colonial History of New York*, edited by E. B. O'Callaghan, M. D., in a foot-note (vol. X., page 735) refers to the old tradition. There is no reference to any burial in the text; hence it furnishes no additional weight, being merely a repetition of the story.

James Kent, in his biographical sketch of Philip Schuyler, says that the latter "was with Lord Howe when he fell by the fire of the enemy on landing at the north end of the lake; and he was appointed (as he himself informed me) to convey the body of that young and lamented nobleman to Albany where he was buried with appropriate solemnities in the Episcopal Church."

Lossing says that Schuyler remained at the head of the lake to superintend the forwarding of supplies for the use of the army. Hence he could not have been present with Lord Howe at the time of his death.

Schuyler may have been appointed to take the remains to Albany but there is no contemporaneous evidence whatever to the effect that he did.

Munsell's *Annals of History of Albany* from 1620 to 1850, a minute narrative of recorded events, fails to mention or even refer to any reception or disposal of the remains in Albany.

General Philip Schuyler died November 18, 1804, and was buried in the family vault of Hon. Abram Ten Brook. It is a safe presumption, therefore, that the general did not own a family vault.

Niles' *Historical Narrative of the War in New England* (vol. V., page 467) edited by the Massachusetts Historical Society, after narrating various stories regarding the battle not to be found in any other history, says, "The body of Lord Howe was soon after brought to Albany and honorably interred."

Mr. Niles died in 1762. The manuscript of his narrative had been laid away in some trunk or box, where it remained for half a century or more. It was found by accident and placed in the hands of the Massachusetts Historical Society, which published it in 1856 after revising and correcting the manuscript.

A star (*) placed after the word "*interred*" in the text of the narrative as quoted above refers the reader to Minot's *History of Massachusetts*, vol. II., page 39 and note. Holmes' *Annals*, vol. II., page 82 and note, and Bancroft's *History of the United States*, vol. IV, pages 299, 308.

As these references are to modern authors, who lived from a half to three-quarters of a century after the death of Mr. Niles, it is evident that the above quotation as to Howe's burial has been added by those who "revised and corrected" the manuscript for publication, and it not entitled to any consideration as contemporaneous authority. Besides it is strange that the writers, to whom reference is thus made, make no mention of any burial in Albany, and do not corroborate the statements of the text in respect thereto.

CONTEMPORANEOUS HISTORY, AS FOUND IN LETTERS, NEWSPAPERS,
MAGAZINES AND OTHER RECORDS OF THE YEAR 1758.

THE London *Daily Advertiser* and the *Gazette* issued in the months of August and September, 1758, contain a number of American letters, long and short, dated at the head of Lake George, Albany, New York and Boston, giving minute descriptions of the campaign and in particular the manner in which Lord Howe was killed and his many noble qualities, but refer in no instance to any disposition of his remains.

The *Gentleman's Magazine* contains two letters dated at Lake George, July 14 and 15, 1758, which give no account of any removal of the remains to Albany.

General Abercromby's despatch dated "Army Headquarters, Lake George, July 12, 1758," says not a word of any disposition of the body, although referring appropriately to Lord Howe's death.

The following historians of that period do not allude to any conveyance of the remains to Albany: Rogers' *Journal*, Hutchinson's *History of Mass. Bay*, etc., Humphreys' *Life of Putnam*, *Memoirs of Gen. Stark*, Bancroft's *History of the United States*, Parkman's *Montcalm and Wolfe*.

The following letter, written in Albany under date of July 15, 1758, and printed in the London *Daily Advertiser* of August 22, 1758, contains no reference to the Albany obsequies and burial. It is written nine days after Howe's death, and certainly within or shortly after the period of the alleged lying in state and burial in Albany:

"It is with the utmost concern I acquaint you that Viscount George Augustus Howe, Baron of Clenawly in the county of Fermanah, in the Kingdom of Ireland, on Thurs-

day, the 6th inst., July, was slain, valiantly fighting the French at Ticonderoga. This excellent young nobleman, at an age when others go to learn the art of war, at once appeared a finished statesman and general, sober, temperate, modest and active and did his business without noise. This brave man on his arrival in America entered into the spirit of the country and the enemy he was to engage; exercised his regulars in 'bush-fighting,' accustomed himself to long marches, carried his own provisions, generally soldier's fare—bread and pork—and by his example encouraged and brought over many to his discipline. This, all who had known him can affirm. Should I enlarge on the virtues of the deceased it would exceed the design of your paper."

The silence of this letter touching the Albany burial is very *significant*.

According to Lossing, General Schuyler, who is claimed to have taken the remains to Albany and in whose vault they were said to have been placed, sailed for England February 16, 1761, not quite three years after Howe's death. Surely if the remains had been placed in his vault or in any place in Albany he would have taken them with him to England, as a manifest duty not only to himself, as a friend, but also to the mother and brothers of Lord Howe.

The *Scots* (Edinburgh) *Magazine* of August, 1758, referring to the death of Howe says "July 6, killed in an action near Ticonderoga in North America, George Augustus Howe, Lord Viscount Howe, an Irish peer, member from Nottingham, colonel of the 55th regiment of foot, and a brigadier on the American establishment. His lordship is succeeded in honors and estate by his brother Richard Howe."

But there is no reference to any burial.

Captain David Holmes of Connecticut commanded a company

in Colonel Fitch's regiment at the battle of Ticonderoga, July, 1758. He was the author of four volumes of manuscript which comprised his "orderly books." These passed into the possession of Rev. Abiel Holmes, D. D., minister of the First church in Cambridge, Mass. Dr. Holmes, in his *Annals of America*, quotes largely from this manuscript in regard to the old French war and particularly, Abercromby's campaign, but finds no record regarding any disposition of the remains of Lord Howe.

Extracts from the *Memoirs of an American Lady* by Mrs. Anne Grant:

This lady in her younger years was a friend of the various representative families of Albany and vicinity and among others of Mrs. (Aunt) Schuyler, the mother of Philip Schuyler. She narrates many things of interest in connection with Abercromby's campaign, and referring to the reforms made by Lord Howe in the service says: "He forbade all display of gold and scarlet in the rugged march they were about to make, and set the example by wearing himself an ammunition coat, one of the soldiers', cut short. The greatest privation of the young and vain yet remained. Lord Howe's hair was fine and very abundant. He however cropped it, and ordered everyone else to do the same. * * * The night before the army moved, Madam and Lord Howe had a long and serious conversation. In the morning his lordship proposed setting out very early, but Aunt Schuyler had breakfast ready, which he did not expect. He smiled and said he would not disappoint her as it was hard to say when again he might breakfast with her or any other lady. * * * A few days after Lord Howe's departure, in the afternoon, a man was seen coming from the north, galloping violently without a hat. Pedrom (Mrs. Schuyler's brother) ran instantly to inquire the cause. The man galloped on crying out Lord Howe was killed. * * *" She further states that Mrs. Schuyler had her house and barn fitted up as a hospital for the wounded, and speaks of

her extreme kindness and continues, " Could I clearly arrange and recollect the incidents of this period, as I have often heard them, they would of themselves fill a volume."

Mrs. Grant left Albany prior to 1810, and yet, strange to say, she makes no statement regarding the disposition of Lord Howe's body. Her narrative, so far as he is concerned, ends with the tidings of his death as brought by the messenger. It seems impossible to believe that her story of those eventful days, so minute and particular in other respects, even to details of the reception and care of the wounded after the battle, should have failed to mention the Albany funeral and burial, if any such event had taken place.

The published letters and correspondence of William Pitt, Prime Minister of England, contain no letter or other writing in any way referring to the burial of Lord Howe.

Extract from letter of D. Turner, Washington, D. C.:

" I have searched thoroughly in the Congressional Library at Washington the *Gentleman's Magazine* from August to December, 1758, inclusive, also the numbers for the year 1759, and also the *Scots Magazine*. I then went through with the utmost care the files of the London *Daily Advertiser* (of which not a number is missing) subsequent to July 1st, 1758, to the end of the year, also other contemporaneous history. I found several letters giving in full the account of the advance, the death of Lord Howe, the defeat and the return of the army to the head of Lake George; also the names of some of the wounded, the case of Major Campbell, his death and burial at Fort Edward, but not a word or a reference in any form as to the disposition or burial of the remains of Lord Howe. It is a very singular fact, most worthy of attention, that neither Abercromby, Pitt, Schuyler, Aunt Schuyler, the officers attached to the expedition, nor any of the contemporaneous writers have a word to say as regards what was done with Lord Howe's remains.

If the body had been taken to Albany, why was not the fact recorded? There could surely have been no reason for any silence in regard thereto if such had been the fact. But if the remains were buried at Ticonderoga, on the soil of the enemies' scalpers, we can readily understand why the strictest secrecy should be observed.

Show us a line from a newspaper, letter or magazine written or printed at the time of the French war; or a monument, tablet or gravestone on which even the letter 'H' is engraved or any mark to sustain the Albany story, then it may be possibly admitted that there is a slight cause to put some credence in the tradition. In the absence of such evidence, the tradition has no legal or authentic foundation."

TESTIMONY REGARDING THE MARKED STONE FOUND IN LORD HOWE'S
GRAVE, TICONDEROGA, N. Y.

STATE OF NEW YORK, }
County of Essex, } ss.:

On this 1st day of June, 1891, before the undersigned, a notary public in and for said county, came Joseph Peterson, to me well known and whom I certify to be entirely respectable and worthy of full credit, and who being duly sworn by me, deposes and says:

That he resides in the town of Ticonderoga, in said county, on Trout Brook, and is 59 years of age. That his father, Benjamin Peterson, was a native of Claremont, N. H., and came from Barnet, Vt., to Trout Brook valley, and settled there in September, 1837, and died there at the age of 91 years, a few years ago.

An uncle of said Benjamin Peterson, named Amasa Peterson, had settled on Trout Brook a few years before deponent's father so came there. Two or three years after Benjamin Peterson so

settled on Trout Brook, deponent's grandfather, whose name was Ephraim Peterson, came from the east, and lived with his son Benjamin until said Ephraim's death. He was 92 or 93 years old then, and died at Trout Brook aged 95 years or upwards. Said Amasa Peterson was about five years younger. He died aged between 92 and 95 years of age. Amasa Peterson was a school teacher, and said Ephraim was a veterinary surgeon. The foregoing are matters of family history gathered by deponent from his father and said old men.

That deponent, while said grandfather and granduncle were living in his father's family, often heard them talk of their father's services in the old French war, about Ticonderoga and vicinity, and of Trout Brook. Their father told them that at that time the forest in Trout Brook valley was the worst jungle that he ever traveled through. This place was called Trout Brook at the time. (1755-58)

They said that for thirty years their father was an Indian fighter and scout and minute man. Deponent was greatly interested in what they said of the events of that war in Ticonderoga, and his memory of their statements is distinct. He heard the same many times.

They said that their father was in Captain Rogers' company of Rangers. That they had an older brother who was in the same war, but in a provincial regiment, an enlisted soldier. That this brother was killed in the assault on Fort Ticonderoga, July 8, 1758, two days after Lord Howe's death. Their father told them that he was present under Captain Rogers, and he was not far from Lord Howe when the latter was shot—on the 6th of July.

The old man, their father, told them that Howe was killed on the east side of the outlet of Lake George, about opposite the mouth of Trout Brook, and he told them that he was present at Lord Howe's burial, and being a stone cutter by trade, he was ordered to mark a stone to be put in the grave. And that he lettered a stone and put it in the grave, to identify the body afterwards. He

said that Lord Howe was buried in the highest ground right opposite the mouth of Trout Brook, and east of the outlet of Lake George. From their father's description of the spot they thought they could go very near the spot themselves.

He told them that in that war he worked at the building of Fort George, at the head of Lake George, and upon other forts in these parts.

Deponent further says that it is a part of the family history handed down in the family, that his said great grandfather moved from Bridgewater, Mass., to Claremont, N. H., before the old French war. And that he was a "minute man" and ranger or scout under Rogers, and that he lived to a very great age being 107 years old or upwards at his death.

JOSEPH PETERSON.

Subscribed and sworn to before me
this 1st day of June, 1891.

JOHN C. FENTON,

Notary Public,

Essex County.

STATE OF NEW YORK, }
County of Essex, } ss.:

On this 19th day of January, 1893, personally came before the undersigned, a notary public, residing in Ticonderoga, in said county, Peter Duchane, to me known and whom I certify to be respectable and entitled to credit, and who being duly sworn by me deposes and says:

That he resides in said town and is a workman. That on the 3d day of October, 1889, while deponent and others were digging a drain along the elevation of ground east of Trout Brook in said town, and about one-fourth of a mile southerly from the outlet of

Lake George, deponent uncovered a decayed wooden coffin containing the remains of a man. That said spot was marked by the stone inscribed "Mem. of L^o Howe, Killed Trout Brook." This stone was placed against the head of the coffin. No inscription was visible on the stone at that time, it being covered by a film of clay which filled all the letters of the inscription. The stone was laid on the bank of the ditch and was left there until a day later when John C. Fenton, the town clerk of said town, requested deponent to bring the stone to his office, which deponent then did. No letters were yet visible on the stone. By said town clerk's directions deponent then washed the clay from said stone at a sink near by. The inscription then appeared in the precise condition now visible on the stone. The stone has never since its discovery been marked nor tampered with in any manner, nor has any tool of any sort been used upon the stone or the inscription. That deponent, at the request of said town clerk and the town supervisor, placed the stone in the custody of said town officers directly after the inscription was so discovered and the same has ever since been in their custody until the last two or three months, during which time it has been in deponent's custody, except for a short period during which Prof. E. J. Owen had the stone in his possession to take the same to Albany to illustrate his lecture upon the death and grave of Lord Howe. That the stone is now in precisely the same condition it was in when the clay was first washed out of the inscription as aforesaid.

The said coffin laid about four or four and one-half feet below the surface, with the head and this stone in the ditch deponent was digging, and the body of the coffin extending easterly under the sidewalk along the roadside at the place.

A piece of graphite rock of four or five pounds' weight also laid at the head of the coffin beside the stone. No specimen of graphite rock is known to exist within four miles of the spot in question. Deponent further says that the human bones, together with several wrought nails from the decayed coffin, were taken up from the said grave at the same time after the discovery and at once delivered into the custody of the said town officers, and were

enclosed in a tightly nailed box and so enclosed have remained to this time in the possession of the said town officers, viz: town clerk and supervisor.

His
PETER + DUCHANE.
Mark.

Sworn to before me this 19th
day of July, 1893.

JOHN C. FENTON,
Notary Public,
Essex County.

STATE OF NEW YORK, }
County of Essex, } ss.:

On this 20th day of January, 1893, at Ticonderoga, in said county, before the undersigned personally came John C. Fenton, a resident of said town, whom I certify to be a counselor at law and town clerk of said town, who, being duly sworn by me, deposes and says:

That he is an attorney and counselor at law and town clerk of said town of Ticonderoga. That in regard to the grave, the inscribed stone and the human remains discovered in said town on the third day of October, 1889, and supposed to be the remains of Lord Howe, deponent says that he was present at the time of said discovery of the same, and saw said grave, coffin and remains, and saw the latter taken from the ground. That said human bones, contained in a securely fastened box, have ever since that time been, and are now, in deponent's possession as town clerk.

That by deponent's direction Peter Duchane, the workman who discovered the grave, brought the stone found at the head of the coffin in the bottom of the grave, to deponent at his office, the day after the discovery. At this time no inscription was visible, the stone being covered by a film of clay, which filled up the in-

scription entirely. By deponent's direction said Duchane washed said stone in a sink hard by. This cleansing revealed the inscription "Mem. of L^o Howe Killed Trout Brook" as it appears at this day, and as Duchane was unable to read, deponent was the first person after the discovery to see and read the said inscription. By deponent's advice the stone, with the remains found in the grave, was directly afterwards placed in the custody and possession of deponent as town clerk and Charles A. Stevens, the supervisor of said town, for safety. And the same have constantly remained in their possession until about two months prior to the date hereof, when the stone went into the custody of said Peter Duchane with whom it has remained to this date except for a few days, during which Prof. E. J. Owen had the stone in his possession to take it to Albany to illustrate his essay upon Lord Howe's death and place of burial.

No mark has been placed on or removed from said stone since its discovery. It has not been changed or tampered with nor subjected to any experiment whatever since its removal from said grave. The inscription, the several letters and the surface of the stone remain in the precise condition first revealed by the washing of the clay from the same as above described. The letters appear to have been formed with a punch of some sort, perhaps the point of a bayonet, used as a punch with a hammer.

On the removal of the clay, the letters appeared as fresh as they do now. There has been no change in their appearance. As above stated the human bones found in said grave, with some fragments of the coffin, still remain in deponent's possession, but so decayed that it is apparently impossible to tell the kind of wood of which it was made.

JOHN C. FENTON.

Sworn to before me this 20th
day of January, 1893.

P. J. FINN,

Notary Public.

STATE OF NEW YORK, }
County of Essex, } ss.:

On this 19th day of January, 1893, before the undersigned, a notary public of said county, residing in the town of Ticonderoga, personally came Charles A. Stevens, to me known, who being duly sworn by me, did depose and say:

That he is a merchant and resident of said town, and that in the month of October, 1889, and at and after the time of the discovery in said town of the grave, supposed to be the grave of Lord Howe, and of the inscribed stone in said grave, deponent was the supervisor of said town of Ticonderoga.

That directly after the discovery of said grave and stone the said stone was delivered to deponent as supervisor and John C. Fenton as town clerk of said town for safe-keeping, by Peter Duchane, the person who discovered said grave and stone. That the said stone remained in their custody from that time, until about two months ago, when the possession thereof was resumed by said Duchane.

That during the possession of said stone by said town officers, the same was not, nor have the letters thereof been changed or altered or tampered with in any manner. No tool has been used upon the stone or the inscription. Both are now in the same condition they were in when discovered. Nothing has been added to or taken away from the same.

That the human remains found in the said grave and which were at the same time delivered into the possession of the same two town officers for safe-keeping, still remain and have ever since remained, in the office and actual custody of said town clerk.

CHARLES A. STEVENS.

Sworn to before me this 19th
day of January, 1893.

JOHN C. FENTON,
Notary Public.

STATE OF NEW YORK, }
County of Essex, } ss.:

On this 21st day of January, 1893, personally came before the undersigned, a notary public of said county, residing in the town of Ticonderoga, Dr. Rollin C. Wilcox, well known to me and whom I certify to be a physician and surgeon in good and regular standing in said town and county, and who being duly sworn by me, deposes and says:

That he resides in said town of Ticonderoga and is a physician and surgeon, and has practiced in said town for twelve years last past.

That deponent has seen and carefully examined the human remains discovered in said town in October, 1889, said to be the remains of Lord Howe. That the same were in the custody of John C. Fenton, town clerk of said town, when deponent examined said remains, and were exhibited to him by said town clerk, who informed deponent that they were the same bones which had been found with the stone, inscribed with the name and death of Lord Howe and which, as such, had been deposited with said town clerk and supervisor in October, 1889, and had been in his actual possession ever since that date.

That deponent saw and examined the skull (in pieces) the teeth, the bones of the arms and legs, and other smaller bones of the skeleton. That they are very old and in a crumbling condition, being very light and friable from age.

That they are the bones of a man and in deponent's opinion the bones of a young man or a man of middle age. The teeth are sound and unworn and are not the teeth of an old man. That the skull is in pieces, being divided at the sutures, but the pieces of the skull being more dense are less crumbling or friable than the other bones. In taking the bones from the stiff clay in which they had so long laid, they were somewhat broken. With the said bones,

deponent saw some pieces of the wooden coffin in which they were found. These pieces were so decayed and sponge-like that deponent could not determine the species of wood of which the coffin was made.

R. C. WILCOX.

Sworn to before me this 21st
day of January, 1893.

JOHN C. FENTON,
Notary Public,
Essex County.

Extracts from some of the many letters received by the Author.
From Francis Parkman, the eminent historian:

"Your statements are very clear and the evidence which sustains them furnishes very strong reasons to believe that Lord Howe was buried not at Albany, but near the spot where he was killed, not far from the mouth of Trout brook."

From Ezra Brainard, president of Middlebury College:

"I am much obliged to you for the copy of 'The Burial of Lord Howe.' I have read it through with deep interest and am convinced of the correctness of your view."

From Rt. Rev. W. C. Doane, Bishop of Albany:

"I am bound to say that Mr. Owen seems to me to have made out very thoroughly both sides of his case. He certainly has shown that there is absolutely no trustworthy evidence of the burial having taken place in Albany, and I think he gives very good reason to believe that the burial really did take place at Trout brook."

From Hon. J. S. Landon, Justice of the Supreme Court of the State of New York:

"At the time of the discovery in your village of the memorial stone, I became interested in the question of the place of Lord Howe's burial, and made such examination as my time and facilities would admit. I came to the conclusion that the remains were never removed to Albany. Your investigation is much more thorough than mine was and after reading your paper I am satisfied you are right."

From Dr. A. Vanderveer, one of the Regents of the University of the State of New York:

"I wish to thank you for reprint of your paper, which I have studied with a great deal of earnestness and interest. It seems to me that you are entirely correct in your conclusions and that there is no force whatever in the argument presented in the theory that Lord Howe was buried here in this city."

From Rev. James E. Coley, Secretary of the Saugatuck Historical Society, Westport, Conn.:

"I have read your pamphlet with intense interest and desire to say that, to my mind, there is every necessary evidence to prove that the grave of Lord Howe has been

discovered in Ticonderoga, and that the remains found were truly those of that gallant man. It seems to me that the evidence is unanswerable. You have done a good work and though a stranger, I want to thank you for it. The monograph shows much valuable and painstaking research and I am sure the proof must be conclusive to all except perhaps to Albany skeptics. I shall be surprised if your paper does not lead to a universal acceptance of this historical proof, and to the abandonment of those old-time and worthless traditions about Lord Howe's burial place."

From General Selden E. Marvin, Albany, N. Y.:

"I have read the monograph with deep interest and must say the Professor makes out a strong case in favor of Ticonderoga as being the place where Lord Howe was buried as against the multiplicity of views in favor of Albany, the latter, however, seemingly not having as authentic a record as the former."

From Joseph Cook, the eminent Boston lecturer:

"I congratulate you on the convincing power of your arguments in your admirable pamphlet on the burial of Lord Howe. They are thus far wholly unanswerable by those who think Lord Howe was buried in Albany. For one I must give you my adherence most cordially, for as the evidence now stands, your position seems to me unassailable."

The remains of Lord Howe, enclosed in an oak casket, bearing on a brass plate the inscription "George Augustus, Lord Viscount Howe, re-buried July 31, 1899," were exposed to view.* In the casket was a bullet picked up inside the coffin by Mr. E. M. Gifford, when the remains were dug up, probably the ball that killed Lord Howe. There was also placed in the casket a lead box containing a certificate that the remains were those disinterred October 3, 1889.

The boulder, which had been covered with a large American flag and the ensigns of England and France, was then uncovered. The Doxology was sung and the meeting closed.

MEMORIAL STONE IN THE OAK GROVE, TICONDEROGA

Dedicated on Champlain Day, July 31st, 1899.

These are the men whose glorious names we own;
Preserve them long, thou gray Memorial Stone.
Red Chiefs, Champlain, Montcalm, Lord Howe, Burgoyne,
Star groups with Amherst, Putnam, Allen, join;
Honor we give the honest and the brave,
Nor truth nor valor bury in the grave.

God's heroes live, nor yet have done their part;
They flame toward Heaven in every high-born heart.
On tiptoe here last stood the proud New France,
On tiptoe Britain, with a lion's glance,
Saw here her stateliest hour, her checked advance,
Beneath these Western suns. Long may they roll
Resplendent, vivifying part and whole;
Illume united lands, in God's control.

—JOSEPH COOK.

* At the meeting, July 31, 1891.

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